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**NIXON:** *Do we fight back—or Dewey?* .....(465)

**UN:** *Appeasement pitfalls face Ike* .....(465)

**GOLDWATER:** *Soundly scores Democrats* ....(466)

**SOUTH:** *Two leaders for Nixon* .....(467)

**KENNEDY:** *Surrounded by Fabians* .....(468)

**That Disappointing Debate:** The nation-wide GOP dinner hook-up on TV—starring Ike, Dick, Barry, Rocky, etc.—proved a smashing success and restored much GOP morale. Ike's forthright praise of Dick's experience emerged as a major forensic victory in the campaign. The big closed-circuit TV show erased some of the GOP losses sustained in the disappointing Great Debate (Nixon-Kennedy) of three days before.

Despite the lift in spirits, GOP pros and faithful in Washington have raised delicate questions—and tossed around embarrassing answers—in an effort to find out what went wrong with the Debate and to correct strategy and tactics. Here, in question and answer form, is what's being said about it all:

• *Why wasn't Nixon "himself"?* Rumor had it that he was ill. Not true. What is true is that on debate night the VP had not yet shaken off the lethargic aftermath of those anti-biotics he took for his knee infection. It often requires weeks to regain bounce, as cold sufferers will agree.

• *What about that Nixon make-up?* No doubt the make-up was responsible for Nixon's grim facial look. Much talk of "sabotage." Much weight is given to a UPI report that make-up union officials believe he was "sabotaged." They suggested that a "Democratic make-up artist made him up." Washingtonians think there's something odd about it all.

• *What was Nixon's big mistake?* He did not cut an image sufficiently different from Kennedy. That's another way of saying he "agreed" too much with the Massachusetts Senator. Veteran newsmen recall that Willkie missed a big opportunity at the opening of his 1940 campaign. By then he had come abreast of Roosevelt, reported the polls. But, at the Elwood (Indiana) opener, he lost a lot of supporting sentiment by talking about the many points on which he agreed with F.D.R. That may be swell "high level" stuff—it doesn't pay on the radio or TV.

• *Why was the VP so "defensive"?* He temporarily forgot that the best defense is offense. Thus, he could have handled the nasty question about his own "experience" and role in "making decisions" in the Administration by tossing the ball back to Kennedy. Why didn't the Senator himself play a role in making many decisions in his capacity as a member of the Senate? In the last session Kennedy failed to cast record votes 134 times out of 206. To answer this, Kennedy might have had to say, lamely: "I was campaigning away from Washington."

• *Was Kennedy successful in offering himself as a "1960 version of F.D.R."?* He got away with it only because Nixon, in his lethargy, failed to offer his opponent the following devastating fact: F.D.R.'s famous policies, so like the "New Frontier" dream-stuff, did not do away with the depression (in 1933, unemployment totaled 10 million and it remained at that figure until 1940, when the approaching war and arms spending bailed out the New Deal).

• *What is his posture—the "old Nixon" or the "new Nixon"?* Neither, so far. Sometimes the VP cuts loose in his old style (as in Minneapolis), then he retreats to the "high level." Trouble is, he's too much affected by gratuitous, deceptive advice from the claque of "liberal" correspondents. They relay the notion that revival of "old Nixon" forensics (which won campaigns) will offend voters. Kennedy feeds out the story that he's puzzled by "old Nixon" speeches "which lose votes." Actually, the Kennedy forces fear intensely a regular "old Nixon" style campaign—for it does win voters.

• *Will Nixon cut loose on Big Labor?* He made a start, with his courageous speech to the Machinists union. But why should he waste time and energy addressing unions at all? The AFL-CIO is spending millions in money and manpower to organize a Nixon defeat. Thus, the VP has nothing to lose by attacking, not "appealing" to, Big Labor; and it's better pay-dirt just now, with recession clouds on the horizon. He can justly blame idle steelworkers on Labor Boss ambitions for costly strikes and settlements, with the result of pricing American business even out of the domestic market. It's a natural in October, 1960, perhaps better than "foreign policy" as a bludgeon in the necessary "low level" (not "high level") forensics which win elections.

**Eisenhower Phenomenon:** The amazing phenomenon of Ike's popularity—illustrated by the million-person turnout during his ride through New York last week—fascinates (and concerns) GOP pros. They think great political mileage can be obtained from the argument: "Under the Democrats, three wars in our time; under the GOP none." In short, peace; but it has to be "peace with honor" (in other words, peace but no appeasement).

Problem is: If Ike meets Khrushchev and makes some sort of deal, it can't prove popular, unless it emerges untainted with appeasement. The main worry is that the Herter-Bohlen-lace-handkerchief set in the State Department might wheedle him into some arrangement which contains hidden—and dangerous—jokers.

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Some of the more cynical pros brush off that eventuality, saying "nothing will or can boomerang against Ike. People won't believe it." More sincere pros retort, "murder will out," and "the Democrats will have an issue." But Democratic pros warn, "Kennedy, under the influence of Adlai and his followers, wouldn't make it an issue—they'd have to welcome any appeasement move." This picture shows why Washington—watching the show in the UN in New York—has the jitters these days.

Meanwhile, GOP pros wrestle with the problem of merging the amazing Ike popularity with Nixon. And the Democrats regard their efforts with apprehension.

**Goldwater Rides Again:** Little out of Senator Barry Goldwater's speeches gets printed outside of the scores of local areas where he talks for the Nixon-Lodge ticket. Even before the Executives Club of Chicago (a very "visible spot"), some winged words were not widely relayed by the press.

The Arizonan shot accurately from the hip: "Both Presidential candidates should start talking issues and stop talking platitudes." Addressing the largest crowd in the history of the Executives Club, he remarked, "We've reached the point now where we've shaken all the feathers out of the boxing gloves." He defined the issue as whether America would retain the free enterprise system or plunge down the road to complete socialism. The Democratic party candidates walk down that socialistic path.

*He compared the Democratic platform to a canvas front at a carnival where the "suckers" are taken in by a "phony sales pitch," only to find nothing on the other side after they have paid admission.*

The Labor Bosses "should not own the candidates of a party. Kennedy and Johnson will be beholden to labor leaders," and Goldwater warned: "The White House to a large degree will be operated by the heads of the AFL-CIO if Kennedy is elected."

**Labor Score Cards:** The Committee on Political Education (COPE), the assault troops of the AFL-CIO, is flooding the country with five million four-page leaflets, each with a 10-issue voting record of every state congressional delegation.

Capitol Hill, studying the score cards, notes (1) that Senator Kennedy and 18 other Democratic Senators got a "perfect" voting score, and (2) not a single Republican Senate or House member got an entirely clean record from the federation's standpoint.

Backers of Nixon take pleasure in pointing out that COPE underlines its dissatisfaction with the Vice President: on the 1959 vote that put the "Bill of Rights" in the labor reform bill; "Labor's Enemies Win—Nixon Broke Tie." The way COPE describes the "Bill of Rights" is revealing: "Trick political maneuver to cement anti-labor provisions in reform bill brings tie vote, broken by Nixon's vote to subject labor to endless legal battles in court and cripple legitimate union procedure."

The Bill of Rights sought to give individual union members protection and right of redress against the exactions and oppressive policies of the Labor Bosses, many of which had been vividly brought out in the McClellan Rackets Committee hearings. Hence, the Bosses deployed some of their most colorful vitriol for a measure that threatened to modify their tyrannical control.

In the halls of Congress, staffers are wiring home to conservative members the gladsome tidings that they have received the accolade from the Labor Bosses, that is, that they were rated zero on the COPE score cards. This news is especially welcomed as campaign fodder by conservative Senators running for re-election. The zero-rated Senators are:

**REPUBLICANS**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goldwater | (Ariz.) | Hruska | (Neb.) |
| Willams | (Del.) | Curtis | (Neb.) |
| Dworshak | (Idaho) | Bridges | (N.H.) |
| Carlson | (Kans.) | Cotton | (N.H.) |
| Schoeppel | (Kans.) | Brunsdale | (N.D.) |
| Saltonstall | (Mass.) | Young | (N.D.) |

**DEMOCRATS**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| McClellan | (Ark.) | Stennis | (Miss.) |
| Smathers | (Fla.) | Thurmond | (S.C.) |
| Russell | (Ga.) | Byrd | (Va.) |
| Eastland | (Miss.) | Robertson | (Va.) |

**Treasury Secretary Speaks:** "The outlook for economic activity in this country is favorable, both for the near future and for many years ahead," retorted Secretary of the Treasury Anderson last week to the "gloom and doom" boys in this political period, and added, "This is my strong view." He went on to say the slackness in the economy this year reflected "fundamental adjustments to a new environment—the absence of inflationary pressures . . . . Businessmen can now make plans and calculate costs on the basis of a reasonably stable dollar." The Treasury Chief dampened the spirits not only of deflationists, but also of inflation-mongers. He said that despite the outflow of gold, the US will not devalue the dollar—that is, by changing the official price of $35 an ounce for gold.

**Prairie Fire:** Reports from South Dakota say that Representative McGovern, Democrat, opposing Republican Senator Mundt, is having difficulties with the argument he meets everywhere—that he has been a friend of the Labor Bosses, who are distinctly unpopular in farm areas. In reply, McGovern has been telling farm audiences that he voted in favor of Landrum-Griffin, the labor bill, "on final passage." This is true, but doesn't tell the whole truth.

Reflecting the attitude of the AFL-CIO hierarchy, Labor Leader James Carey sent word to his labor lieutenants that Congressmen should not be considered "anti-labor" if they voted in favor of Landrum-Griffin "on final passage," provided they had voted as labor dictated on the key vote that came before that (McGovern's vote was satisfactory to labor on the "key" and decisive test). When the "final passage" roll call came, it was clear that Landrum-Griffin would pass. That being so, the



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Labor Bosses told their Congressmen outside of labor areas to "save your own hides." If a left-wing Congressman represented an anti-labor farm district, his chances for re-election might depend upon fooling the farmers into believing that he was "anti-labor."

Apparently, when the Labor Bosses need McGovern's vote, they get it. That's why they actually wanted him to vote in favor of Landrum-Griffin "on final passage."

**Press:** The newspaper which provides Adlai Stevenson with much of his income will support Nixon, despite the fact that Stevenson has been "promised" the Secretary of State post by Kennedy.

The Bloomington (Ill.) *Pantagraph,* one of America's best (and fighting conservative) newspapers, is owned 51 per cent by the Merwin family, descendants of Grover Cleveland's Vice President, the first Adlai Stevenson. The present Adlai and his sister each own 24½ per cent. Adlai's share alone is worth considerably over a million dollars. The *Pantagraph* reluctantly supported Adlai in 1956 and did not express any opinion in 1952.

**Tides of Battle:** Two prominent Southern figures have come out for the Nixon-Lodge ticket, and their example may prove important in the current campaign. Conspicuous is James F. Byrnes, one of the most prominent Democrats in recent history. Byrnes was Roosevelt's Senate leader in the Thirties, a big wheel in the F.D.R. Administration's wartime setup, a member of the US Supreme Court and (under Truman) Secretary of State. Later he became Governor of South Carolina.

**Byrnes, in embracing the GOP ticket, states his strong opposition to the Democratic platform, and by that he does not mean the civil rights plank alone; he says the radical platform adopted at Los Angeles is repugnant to a conservative.**

Insiders in the Capital are all the more impressed with the Byrnes stand, for it was reported in informed circles several years ago that Byrnes had at that time been boosting Kennedy for President.

The other is former Texas Governor Allan Shivers, who sat in the State House chair from 1949 to 1957. Shivers, although a Democrat, supported Eisenhower in 1952 and was regarded as one of the big forces that enabled Ike to win that state. His influence this year cannot be discounted.

In Ohio, maverick Senator Frank Lausche has just come out for Kennedy. His silence regarding the ticket was noted in HUMAN EVENTS two weeks ago. Two major factors are seen for the action by Lausche, who is a shrewd pro, in giving in and endorsing the Democratic ticket. One is that he comes up for re-election in 1962 and cannot afford to alienate the party machine and the union bosses any more than he has. The other is that Lausche, a political realist, detects a strong Kennedy tide in Ohio, and doesn't want to appear to be bucking it.

**Education:** While a bill for Federal aid to education failed to pass the Congress, it was through no lack of effort by the National Education Association, which spent $77,913 during the first half of 1960 in lobbying for this measure. The importance NEA attaches to Federal aid to education, which would eventually bring public schools under Federal control, dominated by NEA-spawned "educationists" and "life adjusters" in the Health, Education and Welfare Department, is seen by the fact that NEA is now the biggest spending lobby in Washington. (Figures from *Congressional Quarterly*—second biggest spender, the AFL-CIO; third, Teamsters union.) NEA spent $12,000 more in the first half of 1960 than it did for lobbying during the first half of 1959.

While some take solace because the Federal aid bill did not pass and feel, therefore, that NEA's lobby may be ineffective, the fact is that school bills did pass in the House and the Senate; passage of a final education measure by the whole Congress was prevented only by conservatives on the House Rules Committee, who refused to permit a compromise bill to reach the floor. If "liberal" Senator Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) wins his fight to remove conservatives from control of the Rules Committee at the next session, there will be no firm blockade against the Federal aid to education drive that is sure to begin again.

**Capitol Camera:** Kennedy, in the Great Debate, criticized the Administration for "doing nothing" about Africa. As chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Africa, he failed to say that his subcommittee has never held a hearing or rendered a report. In short, he has done nothing.

• *Senator Paul H. Douglas (D.-Ill.) was recently evicted from the parking lot area of the American Machine & Metals Co., where he was campaigning for re-election during the company's working hours. Douglas claimed the company was an ingrate because he had helped it get sizeable defense contracts "that it otherwise wouldn't have got," and added, "I'll even help them get another contract." His opponent, Samuel Witwer, is now wondering what sort of influence Douglas possesses that he can obtain a contract for a company that ordinarily wouldn't receive one.*

• Former Democratic National Chairman Jouett Shouse, now a Washington attorney, has broken with his party and come out for Nixon-Lodge. The reason: "Labor Bosses" control Kennedy.

• *Lyndon Johnson, now running for Vice President, had this to say about the job when he was seeking the Presidency: "The Vice Presidency is a good place for a young man who needs experience. It's a good place for a man who needs training." (Los Angeles, July 8).*

**HON. JOHN DOWDY, Member of Congress from Texas:** "HUMAN EVENTS is always welcome to my desk. You are making a courageous fight in our battle for the preservation of America and American freedoms."



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• Eugene, Oregon, where Jack Kennedy told a high school audience last May that Ike should have apologized to Khrushchev for the U-2 flights, has been an unlucky spot for Democratic politicians. It was in Eugene, on June 11, 1948, that Harry Truman remarked, "At Potsdam . . . I got well acquainted with Joe Stalin, and I like Old Joe—he is a decent fellow."

• *Democrats conceding Indiana to Nixon. A typical poll, taken by the "Prairie Farmer," shows Nixon* 59.9, *Kennedy* 31.5, *with* 8.6 *per cent undecided. An agricultural poll taken at the State Fair shows Nixon over Kennedy by* 3-1. *Nixon's strong showing means chances are good that conservative GOP gubernatorial candidate Crawford Parker will triumph.*

• Former Tennessee Governor Frank Clement, keynoter of the 1956 Democratic convention, flew into Richmond, Indiana, a week ago to address a Democratic fish fry. Alighting from his plane, Clement waved to an unexpected crowd of some 200 young political enthusiasts. Clement's elation turned to chagrin as the kids began chanting, "We want Goldwater." The mob was waiting to greet the Arizona Senator, due in on a later plane. Clement found his welcoming committee of six Democrats, and silently slid away.

• *The national debt as it now stands is* 96.5 *per cent Democratic, having been mostly accumulated during the Roosevelt-Truman years.*

• Last week's debate between Kennedy and Nixon recalls their first debate, way back in 1947, when both were serving on the House Labor Committee, which had just set up the Taft-Hartley measure. The debate took place in McKeesport, Pa. Nixon was for the Taft-Hartley labor reform bill, Kennedy argued against it.

**Kennedy's Eggheads:** The "Veritas" Foundation, composed of Harvard Alumni, has just published a pamphlet exposing the Economics Department of its alma mater (where Kennedy backers abound) as nothing more than a breeding ground for Fabian Socialists.

The pamphlet, *Keynes at Harvard* (published by the Veritas Foundation, Box 340, Wall Street Station, New York 5, N. Y.), not only shows how Harvard imported the teachings of the British Fabians, the Webbs, Laski and Keynes, but it demonstrates how Harvard graduates—steeped in Keynes—have managed to work their way into influential positions in Government.

Two leading Harvard economists and Kennedy advisers, John K. Galbraith and Seymour Harris, the booklet points out, are products of the institution's Socialist teachings and lean to the left. Harris, who is head of the Economics Department, and actively campaigns for Kennedy through letters to the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post*, was actually a live-wire in the League for Industrial Democracy, which was stacked with such leftists as Owen Lattimore, Frederick V. Field and Scott Nearing. Harris, in recent years, has been a leading light in the socialistic Americans for Democratic Action.

Galbraith is not only a thoroughgoing Keynesian, but his line on Russia is noticeably soft. Moreover, he has criticized the U-2 flights, and a recent article of his on disarmament so fascinated the Reds that the Russian publication TRUD printed it in nine different languages.

**Defectors:** Democratic party propaganda has sought to exploit the embarrassment of the Administration anent the two NSA defectors in recent weeks. "Boy —Suppose That Had Happened While I Was in Office"—is the title of a typical Herblock cartoon, depicting former President Truman perusing the newspapers about the Two Defectors.

Unfortunately, for the Democrats, that did happen while Truman was in office. On Sunday, May 16, 1948, Truman's State Department announced that Sgt. James M. McMillin, a code clerk in the US Embassy in Moscow, had defected to the Russians saying that he preferred life in the USSR to that in the United States. McMillin had been made a code clerk, although not properly cleared.

**Cuba:** The N. T. Rude Post No. 471 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miami, Florida, has adopted a resolution calling for immediate United States intervention in Cuba. The Resolution was subsequently adopted by all other VFW posts throughout Florida.

In the unanimously endorsed resolution, the VFW post stated: "We are through with hindsight. We condemn, protest and warn against a future foreign policy of 'containment' in the Cuban situation wherein Cuba is conceded to the Sino-Soviet bloc with the hope that somehow further expansion in the Western Hemisphere of Communism will not occur. 'Containment' in present day circumstances is all out appeasement."

**Dodd:** Although his office told HUMAN EVENTS that Senator Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) had not endorsed Jack Kennedy's candidacy (HUMAN EVENTS, Sept. 22), his legislative assistant now informs us that Dodd issued a statement endorsing the Democratic ticket the day after the convention. The statement seems to be one of the best kept secrets of the campaign—to the extent that a spokesman in the Connecticut legislator's office didn't know of its existence.

After contacting several Connecticut sources, it appears that Dodd, one of the strongest anti-Khrushchev appeasers in his party, is not able to put his heart into a vigorous campaign for "Apologizing Jack."

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HUMAN EVENTS

October 6, 1960

# Why Nixon Over Kennedy?

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*By* RALPH W. GWINN
*Former Congressman from New York*

I WAS A strong supporter of Barry Goldwater at the Republican Convention in Chicago, a man having no sin of compromise with political principle in him.

Now I am asked why I, a staunch conservative, support Richard Nixon for President.

Today we have three choices: (1) to support Nixon, (2) to support Kennedy, (3) to sit it out. This latter choice should not be confused with "neutrality." As Senator Goldwater pointed out at the Convention, conservatives do not remain neutral when they "sit it out." They cast HALF A VOTE for Kennedy.

Nixon and Kennedy are far from being like two peas in a pod. There are sharp, well-defined differences between them.

The first question is: How will each handle the Communist conspiracy on November 9th? How has each handled it so far? Khrushchev has predicted that our grandchildren will live under communism, and here we are going to the polls this very fall with those grandchildren! Shall we reject decisively or timidly embrace compromise with communism by our vote?

Which ticket does Khrushchev favor? Do you have any doubts on the subject? He is definitely interested in our election. He indicated that another summit conference waits on the outcome. For Secretary of State he prefers Stevenson, reputed to be Kennedy's choice for that critically important post. He might be equally glad to have Chester Bowles, one of Kennedy's principal advisers on foreign affairs.

Kennedy's friends say it is impossible that the Senator could be soft on communism. "Kennedy is a Catholic," they explain. But, is he the vigorous anti-Communist that we believe most Catholics are? Does he not rather incline toward those groups who insist that we can do business with the Kremlin and, before long, that we must recognize Red China? These are powerful groups. It takes power to defeat them. That is why I can't be neutral or indecisive in my vote. I don't want Mr. Kennedy in the White House leading such groups in and out of Congress.

Now, with regard to the domestic issues.

Both parties promise a 5 per cent annual increase in business. I am strongly OPPOSED TO THAT KIND OF POLITICAL PROMISE NO MATTER WHO MAKES IT. It implies that government can, by political manipulation, determine sound prosperity and the solid employment of people.

The difference between the two candidates is that Mr. Kennedy continues to resort to still bigger doses of government spending and, of course, more taxes or inflation. Mr. Nixon promises tax incentives, tax relief to stimulate more production and thus increase business and the income of the people. One way is through bigger government. The other is through free enterprise.

Don't forget a Republican Congress reduced tax rates under Eisenhower. They are lower today than those in force at the end of the Truman Administration. And we have greater prosperity as a result. We need a new Congress to support this Nixon policy.

The American government today wields the greatest financial power ever known. Every technical sounding decision made on balanced budgets, deficit spending, repayment of the public debt, monetary policy and credit controls, is not only a technical problem. It affects every aspect of human life. Kennedy's economists talk of welfare goals as the reason for even greater government costs, powers, and controls. The very air is full of uncertainty about what Mr. Kennedy intends to do. He uses technical words of government to strengthen the "public sector." All this means impoverishing the "private sector," where most of us live. I, for one, want to hold on to what little "private sector" there is left.

Where do the candidates stand on the labor problem?

ONE BILL WHICH has a high priority to Walter Reuther and the AFL-CIO is the Kennedy-Karsten bill. Under this bill the states are required, whether they like it or not, to pay unemployment benefits for 39 weeks. They would be required to pay as much as $2,300 in benefits to persons who have earned as little as $1,700 during the qualifying period. This is designed to federalize the unemployment insurance system of the country. The Federal government will dictate the amounts paid the unemployed and the duration of those payments regardless of what the state legislatures may wish. Under such a Federal law, the states will become mere administrative agencies of the Federal government. Competition between them will be gone.

Now if a state like Michigan becomes impossible for industry, it can move to Indiana. But if Mr.

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Kennedy and an AFL-CIO-controlled Congress are elected, industrial freedom will come closer and closer to the end.

One of Reuther's goals is to extend unemployment benefits to 52 weeks, and eventually to 104 weeks. Benefit payments are to be raised to 80 per cent of take-home pay.

*If workers can collect 80 per cent of take-home pay for 104 weeks, why not just stay home? They will be money ahead by loafing. When they work they must pay a 20 per cent tax, deducted from their wages. The temptation will appeal to many kinds of marginal workers—married women who do not really need to work, seasonal workers in hotel and other industries, agricultural workers, even workers in the seasonal garment industries.*

Strangely enough, laws giving "something for nothing" seem never to be repealed. They move in only one direction. Eisenhower and the Republicans in Congress have held the line against the "right to loaf" bill. Kennedy wants this bill. HE INTRODUCED IT. His supporters in the AFL-CIO want it.

Do you want to work and pay social security taxes to keep people from working for as long as two years at a time? That is just like paying farmers not to raise corn. It's like being paid for going into the non-raising hog business.

DO YOU WANT to elect a President who increases and leads more and more mobs against the treasury? We've got too many now. Mr. Kennedy follows new pressure groups, in the making everywhere, bent on taking more of something for nothing. For he is their acknowledged leader.

Mr. Kennedy is the representative of the great labor leaders who are bent on repealing the Taft-Hartley Act by amending it out of business. One amendment, called the "situs picketing bill," provides for picketing against products of any company coming on to the job listed by labor unions as "unfair." For example, if Kohler plumbing fixtures were coming on to a building job, any union on the job could automatically stop all construction at the site where Kohler products are being delivered. This is an extension of the violent head-cracking business of stopping the crossing of the picket lines. This is more of taking the law out of the courts and putting it into the hands of the labor bosses.

By this bill labor bosses become the sole arbiters of what constitute "unfair labor practices" so as to justify the rejection of any company's products by order of the union boss. There can be no practical appeal. Mr. Kennedy introduced the bill. Mr. Nixon has advocated nothing like it.

Having gone thus far to set up labor unionism as a law unto itself, if Mr. Kennedy is elected with an AFL-CIO-controlled Congress, the next step is already indicated. Labor will exact the right to make decisions heretofore reserved to management.

Some unions have already compelled the insertion of a provision in labor-management contracts prohibiting companies from moving their plants without union consent.

THE HICKORY COMPANY in New York went out of business. Its equipment was shipped to a new company in Mississippi. The arbitrator held that such a move was a deliberate violation of the labor contract. The court upheld him and ordered the firm to re-establish a New York plant of the same size and capacity as the one built in Mississippi, and also to pay $204,681 damages to its employees in New York. Management no longer has the right to decide where to invest its capital in New York or in Mississippi.

It follows, too, that if management decides to withdraw its investment in a plant, government will insist on the right to treat the plant area as a depressed area entitled to government funds at taxpayers' expense. Government, in effect, says, as an excuse for taking other people's property, that private industry is unable or unwilling to provide capital. If rents are too high, then rent control must be imposed by government because private capital will not provide adequate housing according to government standards.

How much farther can we go to impose the will of one side on the other in a contract? If it can be done in a contract, it can, of course, be done by law.

The Crescent Company had agreed, in its collective bargaining, that if the plant or any of its operations were moved, or if the name of the firm was changed, the contract would continue in effect until the expiration date. The court ruled that the United Auto Workers could not bar the firm from moving to Georgia, but it could insist that the company must hire its old workers, pay existing rates in the new community, and hire new workers only under the conditions set in the contract.

In a third case, the Supreme Court itself ruled that the Chicago and North Western Railway had violated the law by trying to regroup its little-used freight stations so as to reduce its losses. The road claimed that some of the station employees were getting a full day's pay for less than an hour's work. The Order of Railway Telegraphers demanded that the Chicago and North Western bargain with them over the closings. They said: "job security" is a proper area for bargaining. It sounds reasonable to say that "job security" is a serious concern of the unions. But what kind of "job security" can be achieved by compelling management to continue unprofitable, even outrageous, operations? In the



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long run this policy can lead only to government protection and operation of business. If free enterprise won't keep the unprofitable stations open, the government must, or compel the railroads to do so. That is the end of free employment and free enterprise.

Thus, we may go "whooping and hollering" down the road to bigger and bigger government, with smaller and smaller people more helpless in managing their own affairs.

There is a bill in Congress, the Dirksen Bill, S. 3548, which would offset the Supreme Court decision on the Chicago and North Western case above. The bill did not have a ghost of a chance in this session. What chance would it have in the next session if Mr. Reuther's candidate, Senator Kennedy, is elected President?

I'm for free enterprise. I cannot want Senator Kennedy for President. Mr. Nixon has committed himself to achieve greater individual responsibility and freedom of the people from the compulsions of government. I must be for him.

IF YOU VOTE FOR MR. NIXON WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT CONGRESS?

TALK TO GOP CONGRESSMEN REPRESENTING THE 50-OR-SO MARGINAL DISTRICTS—those which can go either way. They know they will be defeated if Kennedy wins, and their replacements will be Reuther-controlled Big Spenders. We will have labor boss-made law with violence.

*Here is an example. The Republican Senator from Michigan a few years ago voted roughly* 50-50 *on issues involving conservative principles. In* 1958, *he lost to a Soapy Williams associate, Philip A. Hart, who had married* $20 *million of the Briggs Body fortune. Do you know that Hart, the new Senator from Michigan, has YET TO CAST ONE VOTE, according to the ACA Index, against inflation or government ownership or government intervention or for any sound conservative principles? What else could be expected from Reuther's obedient servant? Thus, we lost a* 50 *per cent conservative Senator, to get a Senator who was rated ZERO on the ACA-Index.*

Dare conservatives "sit out" this election without a try?

YOU CAN FIND out the record of every Senator and Member of Congress by consulting the ACA Index. It is published by HUMAN EVENTS, and sells for $15. That is a very inexpensive way to get a full report on the work of some 530 members of Congress.

While talking about Michigan, let me mention the 1954 race between Senator Ferguson and McNamara. Though a conservative, Ferguson voted against the Bricker Amendment and in so doing, he angered a number of conservatives. As a result, he lost to McNamara by a fraction of one per cent of the total vote. The Senate got six years of McNamara, one of Reuther's puppets who was also rated at ZERO by the ACA Index. In five and a half years McNamara has *yet* to cast one vote which conservatives could approve. What do those who sent Ferguson to defeat think now? There is little doubt that they did it. Stay-at-home conservatives who fail to vote for candidates for Congress can give the left-wing extremists FIFTY MORE PLACES IN CONGRESS. They will have no one to blame but themselves if those fifty seats are lost in 1960.

**A Kennedy victory will be construed by our representatives in Congress as a mandate for Big Spending. Of course! The extreme New Deal Democrat from Pennsylvania, Senator Clark, another heir to millions, who is given a rating of 4 per cent on the ACA-Index, is talking about "Another Hundred Days"—like F.D.R.'s. Doesn't this *mean they will pass spending bills faster than money was* ever spent, even in Roosevelt's Hundred Days?**

Kennedy's election will be considered by the two-thirds Democratic majority in each House as assurance that they can, with impunity, get rid of any obstacles to the quick passage of measures making effective the KENNEDY REVOLUTION. Senator Clark says that the Seniority System for committees in Congress must be emasculated. That will get rid of the few conservative Democrats. Don't forget it has been the seniority rule which has delayed some of the biggest spending programs so far, and helped to uphold President Eisenhower's vetoes.

Resistance in Congress to Reuther's labor bills will fade out like resistance to big spending. What will the pitiful remnant of conservatives in Congress be able to do if, instead of an Eisenhower, there is a Kennedy in the White House?

It will not do a bit of good to be sorry on November 9th, or any time in the next eight years after that. It is better to be sure now. For only two months the voters have a choice. Then they will have virtually no choice for eight years. Defeating a President in office seems to have gone out of style ever since Roosevelt won his third term in 1940.

The reason for Goldwater's decision to support Nixon, however great the difference in their philosophies, was summed up by George Sokolsky, in his statement that Goldwater "is not interested in winning the little battles when there is a great war to be fought."

I have tried to show why I think we have a great war to win or lose between now and election day. This is the war for survival or defeat of conservative principles. I do not believe conservatives can do their duty by "sitting it out," while the war is being decided against them.



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## *Lincoln, Kennedy and Quill*

From the Wall Street Journal

It's never surprising to see our forefathers mixed into the campaign oratory. But this time Mr. Lincoln has got himself involved directly in a current campaign issue.

Herewith Mr. Lincoln's words: "All that serves labor serves the nation. All that harms labor is treason to America. No line can be drawn between these two."

And herewith some words from Senator Kennedy: "The goals of the labor movement are the goals for all Americans and their enemies are the enemies of progress."

This quotation, incidentally, is not precisely what Vice President Nixon said the Senator said, but we don't intend to jump into that rhubarb. What interests us is that Senator Kennedy contends that the words as he actually spoke them say nothing different from those spoken by Mr. Lincoln long ago.

Yet there is, we think, a considerable difference, and the fact that it seems to have escaped Senator Kennedy—and just about everybody else, as far as we can see—is worth at least a footnote in the history of the intervening century.

Mr. Lincoln said that all that serves "labor" serves the nation. After making due allowance for the sweeping nature of the rhetoric, there is much truth in his words. One way or another, most of us labor, whether in farm fields or factories or in soaring office buildings. The identity between the people and the people who labor is very close indeed, so that the things which truly serve the interests of those who labor will indeed serve the interests of the country.

But Mr. Kennedy did not speak of "labor." He spoke of the "labor movement," which is surely something else again. For the labor movement is precisely what its name implies, a separate organization within the general body politic having as its aim political and economic power. The interests of the labor movement, as a movement, are no more necessarily the interests of the country than are those, say, of General Motors.

Take, for one example, the laborer's hire. It is to the interest of the working men to receive in a year as high an income as is possible. In some cases this means their interest is in a higher hourly wage rate. But sometimes not; it can profit a man little to have an exorbitant hourly wage rate if he loses many days or weeks of labor, from strikes or otherwise.

But the interest of a labor union is primarily in the wage rate that appears on the contract, for it must have something to "point to" to justify its existence. And time and again unions have shown that they will force a strike of many months duration for an hourly wage increase which takes years to recoup the losses of its working members from the strike itself.

Again, as we have also seen, the interests of one labor union can oppose the interests of another labor union. The resulting jurisdictional strike may serve the interests of the two unions. It certainly does not serve the interests of those who labor in those trades.

And finally when the labor unions become, as they have, also great political power movements, the interests of the movement itself and those of its enforced members can diverge widely. When Mr. Quill with a handful of men shuts down the Pennsylvania Railroad, and throws thousands out of work for no objective except more power for his clique, whose interests are served save those of Mr. Quill?

Certainly there is nothing in this that "serves the nation," to use Mr. Lincoln's words, or that expresses the "goals for all Americans," in Mr. Kennedy's words. The difference between the two men is that Mr. Lincoln would have understood this.

Yet it is perhaps unfair to blame Mr. Kennedy alone; he may have spoken the phrase quite unconsciously. For one of the insidious things that has happened in the past generation is that too many of us have come to accept the idea that the interests of "labor" are identical with those of the "labor movement." It's a delusion carefully nurtured by those who boss the labor movement. And it is this delusion that has so long kept the country from putting checks upon the power of these labor bosses.

Since those who labor are all of us, all that serves labor serves the country. But let's not bemuse ourselves with the thought that the goals of Mike Quill, Dave McDonald, Jimmy Hoffa and Walter Reuther are the goals for all Americans.


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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

*"This country was founded by the bold and cannot be maintained by the timid."*

—EMERSON

Vol. XVII, No. 40 — Section III

October 6, 1960

# 'Liberals' Employ Double Standard

From the Tulsa Tribune

Traveling through the East recently we enjoyed reading editorials in many of the "liberal" newspapers indicting the Republicans for having kept William H. Martin and Bernon F. Mitchell, the two mathematicians who fled to Russia, on the payroll of a sensitive intelligence department. The editorials [and we agree with them] said it was an outrage that the traitors were hired and stayed hired in spite of common knowledge that at least one was a notorious homosexual.

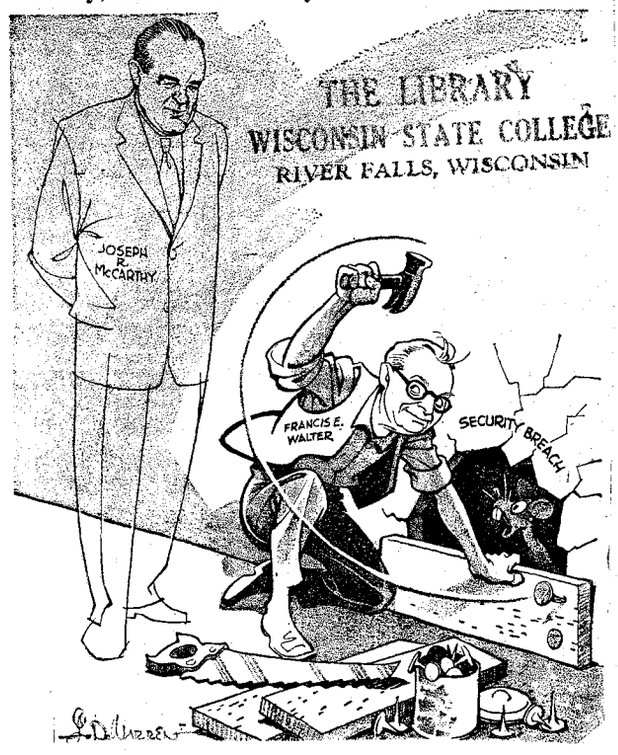
But weren't these the same newspapers that were crying "witch hunt" a few years ago whenever any government bureaucrat lost his job on the mere suspicion that he might misbehave? Weren't these the same newspapers that wept for Robert Oppenheimer, who was severed from his sensitive job in A.E.C. merely because he had been known to associate with Communists? Weren't these the newspapers that defended as victims of "McCarthyism" that shabby group of pinks and reds who had infested the seams of the New Deal and who cried "Murder!" when they were let out or demoted after the real dimensions of the Communist conspiracy began to be understood?

There is an emotional [and questionable] axiom: "Better 1,000 guilty men go free than one innocent man convicted." But the "liberals" carried this over into the realm of government and claimed that any security system in which one innocent person might be wrongfully severed from his or her public office was indefensible. This was silly. It confused a public job with an inalienable right. It assumed that severance from a public job was cruel and unusual punishment. Most citizens never held a public job.

As a result of this hysteria by the "liberals" government agencies grew very chary of firing anyone against whom they had less than an airtight case of wrongdoing. Yet the best spies are not going to be easily incriminated. They don't often get caught with their fingers in the safe.

So far as we know there was no solid information that Martin and Mitchell were spying before they took off for Moscow. Sure, if there had been suspicion of a homosexual relation they should never have been hired, and they should certainly have been fired as soon as it was known. For such people are most easily blackmailed. But such a relationship is hard to prove, too. No government official could charge such a relationship unless he had proof. And what a howl might have arisen from the "liberals" if Martin and Mitchell had been fired for no apparent reason!

"Gently, Their Friends May Not Like Your Methods!"

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## *Around the World in 90 Days*

From the Wall Street Journal

We see where Senator Kennedy has said that "within 90 days" after he is President, if he is, he will reassert US leadership at home and abroad.

Within that space of time he will propose a program to deal with "wiping out poverty here in the United States," a plan for getting the country a "nuclear capacity second to none" which will make us "invulnerable to surprise attack." In the same short span he promises to rally all our prosperous Western allies in a regional program to get long term capital into underdeveloped countries all around the world so they will be prepared for self-government.

That's an ambition for the New Frontier of commendable proportions. But we are old enough to remember that it took Franklin Roosevelt a hundred days to fashion his New Deal. And even so, look what that got us.

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# The Democrats And Economics

From the Philadelphia Bulletin

The Democrats, in their platform, made out a long shopping list of good things to come, if their candidate is elected. Would they be expensive? Not at all. "These needs," they say "can be met with a balanced budget, with no increase in present tax rates, and with some surplus for the gradual reduction of our national debt."

The idea is, that by using artificial stimulants, the national income can be increased, and therefore the tax collections will zoom to new heights. If we can collect $100 billion in taxes, at the same rates, instead of $80 billion, then we will have an extra $20 billion for all those promised goodies.

There is a hitch, of course, just as there is always a hitch in perpetual motion machines. In the recent past, everybody has had a chance to observe that a hopped-up economy raises prices as well as income and tax collections. If what we now buy for $80 billion should cost $100 billion, after the money magicians complete their operations, nobody would be any better off. Then, say the Democrats, they will not hesitate to raise taxes, and that is probably what the program would entail.

It is curious that in last year's British elections, the Labor Party made precisely the same statement, that a fast-growing economy would bring in enough taxes for all the new boons they held up for the electorate to admire. British voters listened to the smooth pitch, pondered the likelihood of any such manna from heaven, and cast enough Conservative ballots to snow the Labor Party under.

## Wise Words

"I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and in our comforts, in our labor and in our amusements. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labor of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy."

—Thomas Jefferson.

## Judd Makes Prediction

Congressman Walter Judd, of Minnesota, an eminent authority on communism, formerly a medical missionary in China, has stated that *"Within the next ten years the world will be all Communist or all free."*

# Reuther Plans Big Assault On Auto Industry in 1961

By Victor Riesel

The showdown between the Auto Union and the massive car industry is closer than you think. As on that other front, peace is always possible. But as on that other front, war—industrial war—talk fills the inner sanctums. This could come after the expiration of the Auto Union contracts with the Big Three next August 31.

Those pacts will run out like a dry brook during a militant year inside labor. That will be obvious to the public after Khrushchev and Castro have left the beachhead. It will then be discovered that we've come through a series of some 20 labor conventions and council sessions covering everything from bricklaying to sailing men.

Strike funds are being raised. Organizing headquarters are being set up. Central commands for special drives are being created. And, of course, never the least militant are the Auto Workers led by Walter Reuther.

There are few topsiders inside who do not expect an auto industry battle. In the highest labor councils, they see the struggle beginning when the Auto Union presents some sort of formula for sharing profits with stockholders. Then the union is expected to throw in a demand for auto price freezing.

The specifics will not be officially announced until after a special United Auto Workers convention next April in Detroit's Cobo Hall. Delegates to this parley will be the same as those who manned the regular union conclave last year. They will set general policy for the drive on the industry.

As soon as this wage-policy gathering is adjourned, the Chrysler council, the General Motors division and the Ford section of the union will meet in three separate bargaining unit conferences. They'll formulate the specific demands on each company. These will be built around the profit sharing and price control bids.

Then the Big Three are expected to counter with some adroit strategy of their own. The auto companies can, and probably will, ask for the dropping of two contract clauses. One calls for an "annual improvement factor." The other is the escalator section.

The first means an annual raise on the theory that each year each worker's skill improves and, with better machinery and tools, he produces more. Thus more productivity, more pay.

The escalator clause simply provides higher pay every time the cost of living index goes up a half a point.

If the Big Three stand solid, this will be the sign of things to come on the labor front.

To preserve these two clauses the Auto Union will strike, just as the big Steel Union hit the bricks over the famous "2-B" work rules clause. But there will be a difference.

The steel industry was shut down for 116 days. The strike ended after a Taft-Hartley emergency cooling-off period was effected by President Eisenhower. This he was able to accomplish on the theory that the nation's health and safety were endangered. He almost failed in the courts.

The next President will have difficulty proving that an auto strike affects the country's health and safety. Our prosperity, yes. Our health, no. Thus, an auto strike could run 316 days. There would be a clamor for compulsory arbitration and the end of national strikes.

That will be the story of '61. At least here at home. After all, how often can Khrushchev return!

# *Conservative Candidates Need Help*

Seven United States Senators are fighting for their political lives against the forces of the left-wing. They and their conservative voting records are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Styles Bridges** | N. H. | 92% |
| **Carl T. Curtis** | Nebraska | 91% |
| **Andrew F. Schoeppel** | Kansas | 87% |
| **Henry Dworshak** | Idaho | 86% |
| **Gordon Allott** | Colorado | 73% |
| **Karl E. Mundt** | S. D. | 73% |
| **Leverett Saltonstall** | Mass. | 69% |

The left-wing forces will spend thousands of dollars to defeat any conservative. These seven men are in dire need of conservative campaign dollars. Campaign contributions may be sent to these addresses:

**Styles Bridges Campaign Account,** 18 School Street, Concord, N. H.

**Carl T. Curtis Campaign Account,** attn: Laurens Williams, 602 Ring Bldg., Washington, D. C.

**Schoeppel Committee,** attn: William F. Turrentine, Jr., 521 New England Bldg., Topeka, Kansas.

**Dworshak Committee,** attn: Roscoe Rich, 1459 Conant Avenue, Burley, Idaho.

**Allott for Senate Committee,** attn: Charles A. Baer, Colorado National Bank, 17th & Stout Sts., Denver, Colorado.

**Volunteers for Mundt,** attn: Erling Haugo, Sioux Valley Bank, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

**Saltonstall Campaign HQ,** attn: Charles W. Colson, 1505 Federal Bldg., Boston, Mass.



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# TVA Region: A Depressed Area

By Congressman Frank T. Bow

The Tennessee Valley Authority is a billion and one-half dollar federal project bought and paid for by all the taxpayers of the country to control floods, conserve resources, develop hydroelectric power and bring the blessings of commerce, industry and general prosperity to the people of the Tennessee River valley. This has been going on for 27 years. One would expect that any part of the valley not flooded by the tremendous reservoirs is now a land of milk and honey.

This is the way it was planned, anyhow.

### Tennessee in Distress

Apparently it has not worked, for I find now that Tennessee is one of the principal areas of distress and depression that would receive federal assistance under the proposed $350 million Area Redevelopment Act. This is the bill, passed by the Senate, that would put the federal government into the business of redistributing industry and redeveloping rural counties.

Seventy of the 95 counties in Tennessee are listed as areas of distress where a federal redevelopment is needed. The cities of Knoxville and Chattanooga, the very heart of TVA, are listed as major areas where chronic unemployment requires the federal government to encourage industrial development. And the smaller Tennessee cities of Bristol, Johnson City, Kingsport, LaFolette, Jellico and Tazewell are also in need of federal handouts to stimulate industry.

### More Trouble Spots

Going farther in the report on this proposal, I find that the only county in Mississippi in the TVA development area is distressed and needs rural redevelopment. Three of the six Kentucky counties in TVA-land and six of the nine in Alabama are on the same list.

I should think that the sponsors of government economic planning might take these facts into account before they propose that we spend hundreds of millions more to provide artificial stimulation to various special areas of the nation.

---

## *Another Type of Bigotry*

Bigotry, we believe, works two ways. It is bigotry to oppose a man for public office because of his religious faith. But it is also bigotry to accuse those who oppose him for valid political reasons of acting out of prejudice. * * * The truth of the matter is that Senator Kennedy's public record, his party's platform, his utterances on the issues of 1960—all of these constitute more than enough reason to justify opposing his candidacy.

—THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER

## *The ACA-Index Changed His View*

A Chicago executive received a letter from a committee supporting "modern Republican" Kentucky Senator John Sherman Cooper asking for a $250 political contribution.

The executive was about to mail his check when he thought to look up Senator Cooper's record in the ACA-Index. It was only 27 per cent! Cooper's record is well-liked by the liberal-labor forces who give him enthusiastic support. Why should a conservative help re-elect him?

The prospective donor instantly changed his mind. He had budgeted $1,500 for political contributions. Continued reading of the ACA-Index quickly told him there were scores of congressional candidates with voting records of 79 to 100 per cent, desperately needing money to combat the massive AFL-CIO machine.

The ACA-Index diverted that contribution to a fighting conservative.

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# *Beware Cradle-to-Grave Charity*

By Senator Thruston B. Morton

Credit Card Government offers cradle-to-the-grave federal government charity to fulfill every human want. Notice, please, that I said every human *want;* not merely every need.

To provide this modern Garden of Eden, Credit Card Government would take America deeper into debt at skyrocketing interest rates, and load the payoff burden on our children, our grandchildren and even our great-grandchildren. More than this: it would gouge more taxes out of wage earners and dry up the reservoirs that fuel American private enterprise.

The price tag on the programs of the Democratic platform—if they are executed—is more than eighteen billion dollars for the first full year of operation! Eighteen billion dollars over and above the money we are spending now!

Over a period of five years, the *pledged continuing* obligations of the proposed Democratic programs add up to a total of well over 93 billion dollars—almost a fifth of the combined federal, state and local public debt as it now stands.

These increases in yearly federal spending would mean a rise of more than twenty per cent in the federal budget—if we wanted to be sensible and paid the bills as we spent the money—which, of course, the Democrats don't.

Let's reduce these appalling figures to the understandable level of a typical urban family of four people. Here, the Democratic proposals would impose federal taxes just short of a fourth of the total family income—before taxes were applied—on a family earning $4,000 a year. They would expropriate 26 per cent of the income of a family earning $7,500 a year; and 35 per cent of a $15,000-per-year family.

The Democrats, and notably the Democratic standard bearer Jack Kennedy, say that a government dealing this kind of big debt, high taxation, and careless spending cards, would lead us to what Jack calls "New Frontiers."

On that limited score, I'll most emphatically agree that Jack's right. His kind of government would take us to new frontiers of debt; new summits of taxation; new peaks of living costs—and a new low in the value of the dollar and the worth of senior citizens' pensions.

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## Education -- Or Is It?

Michigan State University has accepted a $6,600 grant from the Telegraph Delivery Service, "to conduct research to determine the extent to which negative influences affect the sale of flowers and plants, and to determine the ways of combating these negative influences."

*And lo! Pedagogy led all the rest.* In the current graduate school bulletin of the University of Florida it takes only a little over SEVEN pages to list *all* the courses in aeronautical engineering, architecture, chemistry, nuclear engineering, Spanish and English. To list the courses in Education requires ELEVEN pages.

—Council for Basic Education

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# Broken Friendships Weaken Nation

From the Omaha World Herald

During and since World War II, the United States has been blessed with a number of staunch friends in various strategic areas of the earth. Many of these allies, however, either have vanished from the scene entirely or can no longer be regarded as reliable.

What has happened to them? Where are they now?

### Tragic History

To discuss each case in detail would require far more space than is available on this page, but a mere listing of names with some sketchy facts may serve to remind thoughtful Americans of the extent of the tragedy that has befallen them.

Below is a partial list:

Draja Mihailovic. He was the Yugoslav Partisan leader and supporter of the Western powers whom the Messrs Roosevelt and Churchill abandoned when they threw their support to the Communist Tito. In 1946, Mihailovic was executed by Tito's firing squad.

Jan Masaryk. He was the Czechoslovakian patriot and true believer in Western civilization whose life ended when he jumped or was projected through a window. His death cleared the way for communism in Czechoslovakia.

### Under Pressure

Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. He was the head of the Polish government-in-Exile in London during the war who, under Anglo-American pressure, went back to Warsaw to join a "coalition" government with the Communists. It was another case of a lamb lying down beside the Russian bear.

Chiang Kai-shek. He was the true friend of America and the West. According to recent revelations, even Stalin considered him the greatest of Chinese leaders. But he was undermined, undercut, and "coalitioned" by his supposed allies, with the result that today he is virtually an exile on Formosa, while the Communist Mao runs China.

### Castro Replaces Trujillo

Fulgencio Batista. He was the strong man of Cuba and supporter of the United States who was deserted by this country and thus was driven into exile by the pro-Communist Castro.

Rafael Trujillo. He is the ruler of the Dominican Republic who has been denounced by the United States and who, perhaps learning from the experience of others listed above, today appears to be courting Communists.

Each of these cases is a story unto itself, but there are certain similarities which may impress those Americans who stop to take a backward look. Including this one:

With the possible, or partial exception of Masaryk, each of the above former allies of the United States was subjected to a bitter and violent attack by portions of the American press and the left wing of American politics.

They were denounced as dictators, grafters and murderers. They were described as skunks with whom this country, pure and undefiled as it is, should have no commerce.

### Rulers Will Be Rulers

It is quite possible that some of these allegations were true. Rulers and liberators being what they are, the world around, it is not beyond belief that some of the above gentlemen did a bit of stealing on the side, or threw their political opponents in jail or even caused some of them to vanish from mortal view.

But were they morally inferior in these respects, or in any respect, to the Messrs Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Tito and Castro?

Assuming that American friends were not quite as clean as the driven snow, have the purposes of world justice and decency been served by throwing them out and turning over their enormously important areas to the Communist gang? And even more importantly, have America's best interests been served?

### Soft on Communism

We think it is time for the American people to take a long, hard and critical look at their State Department which, save for a few good years under Foster Dulles, has proved to be either soft on communism or utterly unable to cope with Communist blackguards.

We hope that Richard Nixon, who at this point in the campaign appears to be headed toward the White House, is giving serious thought to this problem.

For unless Washington's tendency to retreat and surrender is stopped, especially in the presently critical area of Latin America, he will derive little honor or satisfaction from being President of the United States during the next four or eight years.

# *White House Youth Conference Wants More Federal Spending*

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

The recommendations, 670 of them, now have been tabulated and printed in an 85-page booklet, and the sixth decennial White House Conference of Children and Youth, held last spring, is history. A fact sheet of the recommendations shows how strongly young people and youth workers favor big government and look to Washington for financial and policy solutions to their problems.

There were 7,500 delegates to the conference, 1,400 of them between the ages of 16 and 21. Their interest in civil rights and equality of opportunity can be understood and applauded, but in item after item the word "federal" appears prominently in the discussion.

### Let Uncle Sam Be Landlord

Thus on the subject of community facilities, the first recommendation is for more federal support of better housing in all categories—in other words, let the government be your landlord.

In education the struggle is for federal aid in many forms including scholarships—let the government educate your children.

Increased Federal—followed by state—aid is asked in welfare services; in the labor field, federal government is requested to set up youth conservation camps and send more federal relief money to depressed areas. The program for providing trained workers in the social sciences should be stepped up on a national basis, the conference believes. College housing should be a federal project; a federal commission should be set up to deal with juvenile delinquency.

### Big Daddy in Washington

In calling for participation at all levels, it is remarked that the youth leaders placed the emphasis on big daddy in Washington, not on the powers or duties of the states, municipalities or families. Throughout the report runs the theme that only with the federal government's power and easy access to tax money can any of youth's problems be solved.

This conference in the past has been most valuable to the nation. Because of its efforts, the United States Children's Bureau was established in 1912 and child labor laws have been enacted. It pushed for desegregation in public schools.

It is unfortunate that this time it could come up with little more, in the face of pressing problems within its scope, than a suggestion to set up more federal controls and spend more federal money.



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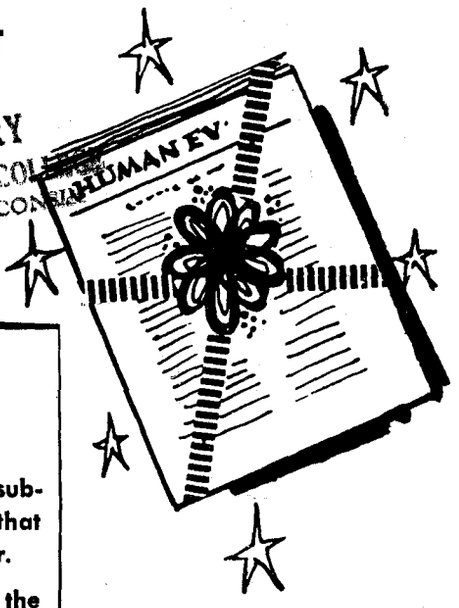


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The Editors

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HUMAN EVENTS

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# Fourteen Million Stockholders Deserve A Break

*By* SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

AMERICANS who are true believers in the free enterprise system had better realize that there is a basic difference between the Republican and Democrat parties.

It goes without saying that most of the material blessings in the way of wages, housing, schools, household appliances, the clothes we wear, the food we eat, automobiles and the other consumer goods which we enjoy are a result of the competitive free enterprise system developed in this Nation.

In order to build factories, hire workers and produce products, capital has to be invested. Needless to say, there is a considerable risk to such investment.

If the product which is produced is unacceptable to the public, bankruptcy is inevitable and those who have put up the money for the operation must suffer the loss.

If the business is successful and the product is accepted by the public, it seems only fair that those who have risked their capital be entitled to a fair return on their investment.

The manner in which most American industries secure equity or risk capital is by the sale of stock to the public. The way in which they pay profits to those who have invested in American industries is through the payment of dividends to the stockholders.

It is perfectly clear to all (save those who have difficulty with thinking) that if the American people cease to buy stock, or if American corporations cease to return to the stockholders a fair dividend on their investments, the free enterprise system, as we have known it, will be throttled.

In 1954 in this country there was a dearth of risk or equity capital. Individuals who possessed some extra cash were more inclined to invest it in government securities where there was no risk involved. Patriotic though the purchase of government securities may be, it still constitutes payment on debt—it builds no factories, it creates no jobs and it does not in any way expand our economy.

The situation became alarming to those who desired our free enterprise system to expand and flourish, and so the Republican Congress amended the Internal Revenue Code to provide some incentive for people who invest in our industrial system. The incentive provided was the so-called Dividends Credits Against Tax in Section 34 of the Internal Revenue Code.

This amendment permitted an individual to deduct $50 from the dividends which he received (in the case of a joint return of $100) and then to subtract from his tax liability 4% of that portion of the amount of his income which had been received from dividends.

**The logic of such an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code seems clear. In the first place, the money which an individual uses to buy stock has aleady been taxed as his income; second, the dividends which he receives (and we must add: IF he receives any, since there is no guarantee that the business in which he invests will be successful) have already been taxed at the corporate rate of 52%; and finally, without such equity capital available (as has previously been stated), our economic system will wither and die. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that those Americans who have purchased stocks have made sacrifices in order to accumulate their savings. These are the provident people who have put aside a portion of their earnings for a "rainy day."**

On June 25, 1959, the Democratic majority of the Senate attacked this incentive provision of the Internal Revenue Code and, led by Democratic Senator McCarthy of Minnesota, by a vote of 47-31, adopted an amendment to eliminate this incentive provision of the Revenue Code.

When the tax bill went to the conference with the Democratic House of Representatives, the Democratic amendment was stricken and the Revenue Code in this respect remains as it did in 1954, as passed by the Republicans.

With the usual demagoguery that has become associated with certain "liberal" elements in American politics, it is now maintained that this provision of the Internal Revenue Code is a tax loophole which enables the rich to escape their fair share of the taxation.

For those who are interested in the facts, let us note that there are twelve to fourteen million Americans today who own shares in American corporations. One out of every eight American

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adults is now a shareowner in our free enterprise system.

The average shareowner has a median household income of $7,000 per annum. Almost 50% of the shareowners are in the $5,000 to $10,000 per annum income tax bracket. The average age of the American stockowner since 1956 is 35 years. Four million housewives are major shareowners, and one out of every five shareowners first acquired stock through an employee stock purchase plan.

Furthermore, over 1,300,000 shareowners are members of labor unions and over 140,000 are members of the armed services of the United States. The facts, therefore, demonstrate that the American people as a whole have faith in our free enterprise system and are investing a portion of their own savings in its future. To claim that there should be no incentive for such an investment is in a sense to advocate that the free enterprise system be curtailed or replaced.

AFTER AN INDIVIDUAL has already been taxed on the money which he has risked in purchasing stocks, to then deny him the right to deduct 4% of his dividends as a tax credit will kill his incentive to take all the risk when there is nothing to be gained. Let us note in comparison that Canada, for example, in this precise situation, in order to promote its industrial system, grants a tax dividend credit of over 20% to its citizens.

Now let us examine the platform of the Democratic party. After promising to give everything to every pressure group both at home and abroad, it then states:

> "We shall close the loopholes in the tax laws by which certain privileged groups legally escape their fair share of taxes. Among the most conspicuous loopholes are . . . special consideration for recipients of dividend income . . . "

One may either believe what the party platform states or be entirely skeptical of the promises therein. If you don't believe anything in the Democratic platform, of course you should vote Republican. If you do believe what it says, you have all the more reason for voting Republican.

According to the language of the Democratic platform, its sponsors intend to abolish any tax credit incentive for the American people to invest in our economic future. They intend to kill the goose of free enterprise which furnishes the revenue to support all of the other programs. In fiscal 1958, for example, of a total Federal revenue of $71 billion, over $20 billion was derived from corporate taxes and a great portion of the $34 billion raised from personal income taxes came from the earnings of corporation employees. This is not therefore a program to tax the rich; this is a proposal to destroy the incentive of millions of Americans to invest in the future of our economic system.

Thoughtful Americans should compare this statement of Democratic policy with that contained in the Republican platform which states:

> "The only effective way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy—*initiative* and *investment, productivity* and *efficiency*."

*There is every reason to believe that the Democrats who constantly favor more government control of industry are in dead earnest. When we examine the vote of June 25, 1959, which would have repealed the 4% dividend tax credit, we find that Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas voted in the affirmative.*

It is peculiar, to say the least, that Mr. Kennedy —a man to whom financial problems are unknown —would deny a small incentive to the millions of Americans who have faith enough to take a risk on the future of our free enterprise system. But the fact is that he and Johnson and all the Democratic candidates for election or re-election to congressional seats are on record. The vote occurred on June 25, 1959; the promise of future action is contained in the Democratic platform. We suggest that those of you who have money invested in America's future read the Record and ask Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson and every Democratic candidate for office to explain.


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